torial entitled "Why Can't We Get Rid of Castro" published in the current edition of the Saturday Evening Post.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHY CAN'T WE GET RID OF CASTRO?

"The Cuban revolution has failed," Post contributing editor, Edward Behr, reports in this week's issue. By that, he means that the Communists have proved once again their almost miraculous talent for making a bad situation worse, for wrecking an economy and enslaving a people. What has not failed, however, is the establishment of Communist power in the Caribbean. Although the Kennedy administration understandably enjoys taking credit for getting Nikita Khrushchev's missiles out of Cuba last October, it understandably prefers to gloss over the fact that Soviet power today is more firmly entrenched off our shores than it was a year ago. There are some 15,000 Soviet troops in Cuba—enough to "suppress any internal rebellion" or "to offer severe opposition to any attack."

That judgment comes from a recent report by the Senate Preparedness Investigation Subcommittee, which raises an even more sinister question: Did these missiles really leave? The Senators admit they don't know. They also acknowledge that top U.S. intelligence officials, "to a man," hold to "their opinion that all strategic missiles and bombers have been removed from Cuba." But the Senators add that the intelligence chiefs "readily admit that, in terms of absolutes, it is quite possible that offensive missiles remain on the island concealed in caves or otherwise. They also admitted that * * * based on skepticism, if nothing more, there is reason for grave concern about the matter."

The Senators, who cite several substantial errors by U.S. intelligence in the past, sound as though they are pretty skeptical and pretty concerned. So are we. We've talked to a lot of Cuban refugees, who have sometimes been more accurate than the intelligence chiefs, and one of them flatly insisted that he'd seen hidden missiles on the Communist island as recently as last November. "Russian missiles are in Cuba," he said. "I know so." Where? "Maybe if you look in the caves in Pinar del Río."

We can't look in the caves, but the Central Intelligence Agency can, and it's about time that its agents find out for certain what's going on in Cuba. To leave the Communists in a position to threaten us again with missiles from Cuba is clearly intolerable. But missiles are not the whole story. Even if the Soviets have no missiles in Cuba, they have troops and armor—and the political position that goes with military presence. The administration indicates that quiet diplomacy is getting the Soviets to reduce their troops. A reduction is not enough. We suspect the Soviets plan to keep troops in Cuba indefinitely, and we think that even one Soviet soldier in the Western Hemisphere is one too many. Instead of just quiet diplomacy, we think Mr. Kennedy should use his well-known skill at quiet armtwisting.

Getting rid of the Soviet troops isn't the whole story either. For as long as Castro rules Cuba, he will be maintaining a political beachhead for communism in Latin America—a beachhead that he's trying to expand by subversion, propaganda, and terrorism. That is why Nikita Khrushchev welcomed his bearded protege in Moscow recently with such a lugubrious display of kissing and hugging. The two of them had a high old time swapping toasts, shooting ducks, ogling ballerinas at the Bolshoi and inspecting the missiles rolling through Red Square. On a shoping tour, Castro considered buying a belt but then remembered that he had forgotten to bring money. Khrushchev, who supports Castro's regime with $500 million a year, soon settled that: "I can guarantee his credit."

But can he? President Kennedy repeatedly says that he is applying economic pressure on Castro, but it seems clear that he's not applying enough. As Behr's report makes clear, Cuba today is in disastrous shape, and yet it's still permitted to do business with unscrupulous businessmen in Canada and Western Europe. The oil that Castro needs keeps flowing in. Surely it's not impossible for the U.S. Government to find means of tightening its embargo, and keep tightening it.

And finally there are the refugees—a quarter of a million of them. We'll grant that a lot of them are wild-eyed and ineffectual, as Harold Martin reports on page 28, and that their hit-or-miss bombing raids don't do much damage to Castro's fortress. But Castro's fortress won't collapse all by itself either. The Cuban refugees remember one successful guerrilla who landed in Cuba with nothing more than one small boatload of seasick amateurs—and that was Castro himself. Organizing a rebellion against a dictator is a long, slow process, but it can and should be done. Why aren't we doing it?

Back in 1960 a prominent American political figure expressed very similar views. "We must attempt to strengthen the * * * democratic anti-Castro forces in exile, and in Cuba itself, who offer eventual hope of overthrowing Castro. Thus far, those fighters for freedom have had virtually no support from our Government." That was true when Senator John F. Kennedy said it. Isn't it true today?

An Address by Hon. James E. Webb, Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. D. R. (BILLY) MATTHEWS
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 6, 1963

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am delighted to present an address by the Honorable James E. Webb, the Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. This splendid address was delivered at the commencement exercise of my alma mater, the University of Florida, on May 4 of this year. The address follows:

ADDRESS BY HON. JAMES E. WEBB, ADMINISTRATOR, NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION

No one can come to the university of this "first State in space" without emphasizing that what the men and women dedicated to a fulfillment of the exacting requirements of the space age have done here in Florida will live in the history of human affairs. Moreover, the way the men and women of this Nation, in making history in space, have followed the lessons of mankind's history and the traditions of democracy at its best is a tribute to the leadership of great, powerful, intellectually oriented centers of teaching and learning such as this, the university of a great State—Florida.

At the university we learn that all that we value most is a product of or intimately related to the human mind, and that most of the instruments and institutions of human progress are recent developments in the long history of mankind.

There is the art of writing, which we have enjoyed for some 6,000 years; agriculture, with us only a little longer; Christianity, less than 2,000 years; modern science, about 300 years old, and modern technology, as revolutionized by science, developed over only about 150 years.

In the explosive development of man's knowledge of the universe in which we live, through use of his mind, consider this series of events:

In 1632, or just 330 years ago, the Cardinals who passed sentence on Galileo asserted that "the proposition that the Earth is not the center of the world and immovable, but that it moves * * * is absurd and false."

But 200 years later man had learned, and had come to accept, that the Earth is not the center of the universe, and beyond that, that the Sun also is not the center of the universe. Instead it was recognized and accepted that the universe itself is in motion, and that we here on Earth are ourselves on a spacecraft traveling at 67,000 miles an hour in a path around the Sun, which will place us a year from now 180 million miles from where we are today—that is, with reference to the Sun, which also moves.

The marvelous capacity of the human mind for perception, analysis, and insight is illustrated by the fact that Edward Everett Hale, in his book "The Brick Moon," published in 1869, was able to write imaginatively of almost unimaginable events which were not to transpire for nearly 80 years. He wrote this:

"If from the surface of the earth, by a gigantic peashooter, you could shoot a pea upward from Greenwich, aimed northward as well as upward; if you drove it so fast and far that when its power of ascent was exhausted, and it began to fall, it should clear the earth, and pass outside the North Pole, if you had given it sufficient power to get it half round the earth without touching, that pea would clear the earth forever. It would continue to rotate above the North Pole, above the Feejee Island place, above the South Pole and Greenwich, forever, with the impulse with which it had first cleared our atmosphere and attraction."

Today, the human mind has made Hale's imaginary peashooter come true in the form of the modern space booster.

Twenty-five years after Hale's book, John Jacob Astor, who is best remembered for building the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel and going down with the *Titanic*, wrote a novel, "Journey to Other Worlds," in which men traveled to the planets. Although written almost three-quarters of a century ago, the book contains an artist's drawing of a spacecraft which might almost have been conceived by a designer of the Apollo spacecraft in which the first American astronauts will take off from Cape Canaveral and travel to the moon.

In the foreword to this book, Hale offered the comment that "there can be no question that there are many forces and influences in nature whose existence we as yet little more than suspect. How interesting it would be," he said, "if, instead of reciting past achievements, we would devote our consideration to what we do not know."

He continued, "It is only through investigation and research that inventions come; we may not find what we are in search of, but may discover something of perhaps even greater moment. It is probable that the principal glories of the future will be found in as yet untrodden paths."

Hale's pea has become a mancarrying satellite, the Mercury capsule, and the whole vista of space is opening up to man. Meanwhile, your generation has lived close enough to dramatic achievements in space to understand the profound truth of Astor "that the principal glories of the future will

be found in as yet untrodden paths." Let me urge you now, as you complete one stage of your education, to turn eagerly to "consideration of what we, mankind, do not know."

How has all this come about? How does today's generation differ from those which, as recently as Jefferson's time, rejected the cast iron plow because it would cause weeds to grow, or the steam locomotive because at the incredible speed of 20 miles an hour the wind would blow the fire out? What has produced a preponderance of thoughful leadership in our country with vision greater even than that of a Thomas Edison, who said of the Wright Brothers airplane that it would never have any practical value, except perhaps as "the toy of wealthy sportsmen."

The other day I was reading the George Washington University Law Review, and I came across a quotation which I would like to read to you. Here it is:

"In very few ages of the world has the struggle for change been so widespread, so deliberate, or upon so great a scale as this which we are taking part in.

"The transition which we are witnessing is no equable transition of growth and normal alteration, no silent, unconscious unfolding of one age into another, its natural heir and successor.

"Society is looking itself over in our day from top to bottom, is making fresh and critical analysis of its very elements, is questioning its oldest practices as freely as its newest, scrutinizing every arrangement and motive of its life, and stands ready to attempt nothing less than a radical reconstruction."

This quotation, it seems to me, is so pertinent an assessment of this age in which we live that it may surprise some of you to learn that it was made by Woodrow Wilson in an address to the American Bar Association in 1910.

Wilson's main thesis, in addressing the leaders of the legal profession in his day, was that there are moments in history when slow and gradual adjustments in the law are not sufficient to meet the emerging needs of society. At such times, social habit is replaced by discussion, by political contest, and by political action.

Wilson was referring chiefly to the effects of the industrial revolution, and the changing relationships between labor and capital. Yet what he said half a century ago applies with equal force to the impact of a newer revolution—the influence which science and technology are having on our society.

The forces of change in the first half of this century were tremendous, as were the social and economic upheavals which they produced, and the legislative reforms which were enacted to deal with them.

But all of this has been transcended by the accelerating forces of change in the world in which we live today. We are dealing not only with profound changes in the social and economic structure of our country and the world; we are dealing as well with an even more profound change in man's own conception of the boundaries and limitations of his habitable environment and his understanding of the forces of the universe.

Throughout human history, as the great French thinker Henri Bergson pointed out, men have been accustomed to think of moving only in terms of the unmoving. But your generation will find it easier to think of itself as a part of a dynamic universe because John Glenn has, before the eyes of all men, demonstrated the emerging cosmology of Von Braun, Van Allen, Dryden, and Pickering.

It might be said that almost all that man knows about this vast universe that is his home he has learned from the examination of one material, that of Earth; one form of life, that of Earth; the characteristics of one body in space, those of Earth—its gravitation, magnetic fields, trapped radiation, atmosphere, and magnetosphere.

Now man is going out to get a second material to compare with that of Earth—that of the Moon, and perhaps a third, that of Mars.

And with Mariner's measurements of some of the characteristics of Venus, the mind of man, for the first time, can compare the magnetic fields of his Earth with those of another body in space. And as more Mariners travel to other planets, he will have their measurements to compare with those of Earth, much as lawyers sharpen up points at issue through studies in comparative law.

Finally, many believe man will achieve the most exciting prospect of all—that he will find extraterrestrial life to compare with his own.

In the world you enter today, man is no longer rooted to terra firma, to his native land, or even to his city block, either in the literal sense or in his understanding of the powerful forces of the universe, of which he is such a miniscule part. Increasingly man comprehends that the new understanding and knowledge that are being unleashed by science and technology will alter his existence in more ways and more rapidly than he can possible foresee.

The way you will come to feel about these impending changes will depend in large part on your estimate of man's ability to cope with them and adapt to them. You will find that many men anticipate them with basic optimism and some eagerness because they are already surrounded by evidence of the benefits received from the scientific and technological advances of the past.

Within your lifetime, science and technology have caused ancient economic, social, and political concepts to become obsolescent almost as rapidly as we have harvested the fruits of successful research and development.

The automobile and airplane have given us convenient transportation, but they have also altered our whole concept of the world in which we live, so far as our everyday lives are concerned. And so with radio, television, and countless other developments with which we are familiar.

Man has gained a new mobility. His horizons have broadened, not only in the geographic sense, but because he no longer feels bound by family, farm, or traditional village industry or nearby city factory.

Your generation will feel no constraint to farm or mine coal or work in a certain factory in a certain city and simply because that is what your father did, and perhaps his grandfather before him. But there is a constraint you will feel. It is to continue to look to your alma mater, your university with its familiar intellectual landmarks, for facts, and discussion of the great issues of the day. When government must reflect the will of the people, and large numbers of people are cut loose from familiar moorings, the university can still serve as a trusted source of information in which your confidence can be placed.

In one sense, this new mobility has been forced upon us, as employment opportunities in many of the age-old occupations of man shrink or disappear. Yet the very technology that has cut back the need for human labor in some fields of endeavor has opened new and more rewarding ones.

But as in the past, among the invisible products of man's scientific progress we can expect to find economic and sociopolitical upheavel. The theme of the message I have for you today is this: The civilization which can move to gear itself for travel to the moon and the planets, and appreciate the necessity for doing so, will not be content with outdated earthly concepts and institutions.

The threads of the fabric of our social, political, and economic institutions are being tested as we move rapidly into this new age of science and technology.

Our economic and political relations with other countries are being reevaluated. Old concepts of defense and military strategy are being challenged and revised.

Jealously guarded traditions of our educational institutions such as this university are being tested, altered, or, in some cases, discarded.

Our economic theories, and even the nature of our institutional structures, are undergoing reexamination as society seeks to adjust itself to the inevitability of change.

These changes are driving men from farm to city and have aroused deep and serious concern at both ends of the scale. While urban planners wonder how they will cope with too many people, agricultural regions wonder how they will survive with too few, and both seek ways to maintain and justify this generation's great hope of the future.

Bergson said, "For a conscious being, to exist is to change, to change is to mature, to mature is to go on creating one's self endlessly."

Durant, in his "Story of Philosophy" said of Bergson:

"After Bergson we come to see the world as the stage and the material of our own originative powers. Before him we were cogs and wheels in a vast and dead machine; now, if we wish it, we can help to write our own parts in the drama of creation."

That is your opportunity, if you grasp it, in this exciting age. You can help to write your own parts in the drama of creation.

Is Nuclear Dilemma at Roots of United States-Europe Split?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HASTINGS KEITH
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, June 6, 1963

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, all of us are aware of the difficulties which have divided the nations of the Atlantic community from time to time. Recently, they seem to have increased in number. All too often the United States has reacted instantly and perhaps instinctively. On too many occasions we have failed to think through the problem and to look for the source of discontent and disagreement.

I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues a very penetrating and perceptive article, "Is Nuclear Dilemma at Roots of United States-Europe Split?" by Robert D. Papkin. This analysis, which appeared in the Standard-Times of New Bedford, Mass., seeks to pinpoint the cause of friction among NATO members. It is worthy of thoughtful consideration by every Member of Congress.

The article follows:

THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY AND EUROPEAN SKEPTICISM—IS NUCLEAR DILEMMA AT ROOTS OF UNITED STATES-EUROPE SPLIT?

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Robert D. Papkin, son of Attorney and Mrs. Barney Papkin, of 114 Palmer Street, is at present studying the laws and economy of the European Common Market at the College of Europe in Bruges, Belgium, under a Fulbright Act grant. A member of the Massachusetts Bar and the Federal Bar Association, Mr. Papkin is an honor